DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 247 492 CG 017 652

AUTHOR Sanua, Victor D.
TITLE Mourning, Wartime Bereavement and Psychopathology: Cross-Cultural Findings.
SPONS AGENCY City Univ. of New York, N.Y. City Coll.
PUB DATE 5 Apr 84
NOTE 71p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Eastern Psychological Association (Philadelphia, PA, April 6-9, 1983).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Tests/Evaluation Instruments (160)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Cross Cultural Studies; *Cultural Differences; *Death; *Emotional Response; Family (Sociological Unit); *Grief; Psychopathology; *War
IDENTIFIERS *Israel

ABSTRACT

War bereavement has excruciating consequences for the families of victims. To examine the cultural differences in mourning, wartime bereavement, and psychopathology among United States and Israeli families, 20 American families of soldiers who died in the Vietnam War and 20 Israeli families of soldiers who died in the Yom Kippur War were interviewed. Analysis of the results showed that the effect of the loss of a son or husband was affected by the kind of war in which these countries were involved. In Israel, young and old had to fight and more children tended to become fatherless, adding to the distress of the mothers. As opposed to American families, practically all Israeli families expressed their sorrow quite overtly. In Israel, there was a greater denial of the death through magical acts and thoughts than in the United States. Neither group felt particularly negative about the enemy; however, Israelis were pessimistic about the future and as a result tended to have more than three children, assuming one would be lost to the war. (The questionnaire is appended.) (BL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED247492

Mourning, wartime bereavement and psychopathology: Cross-cultural findings

Victor D. Sanua, Ph.D.
Department of Psychology
St. John's University
Jamaica, N. Y. 11439

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Victor D. Sanua

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Presented at the
Eastern Psychological Association
Baltimore, Md.
April 5, 1983

CG 017652

CONTENT

I. INTRODUCTION	PAGE 1
II. A short review of the literature on non-War bereavement	7
III. AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS IN THE U.S.A.	18
1. Attitude Toward the War	20
2. Reactions to the news and burial	22
3. The effects of the war on religious attitudes	26
4. The effects on children and siblings	27
5. Mystical thoughts and dreams in connection with the loss of a soldier	28
6. Parents/Daughter-in-law problems	30
7. The effects of the tragedy on the mental and physical health of the bereaved	31
8. Memorabilia	31
9. Insurance money	32
10. The problems faced by widows	33
11. Summary of interviews with U.S.A. families	33
IV. INTERVIEWS WITH BEREAVED FAMILIES IN ISRAEL	35
1. Expression of sorrow by the bereaved families	38
2. Physical consequences of bereavement	44
3. Effects on the children and siblings	45
4. Life after death	47
5. Dreams about the departed and mystical thinking expressing denial of death	48
6. Feelings of jealousy	51
7. Feelings of guilt	52

8. Attitude towards the Arabs and expectations of peace in the Middle East PAGE 52

9. Memorabilia 53

V. CONCLUSIONS 58

VI. REFERENCES 60

Mourning, wartime bereavement and psychopathology: Cross-cultural findings

Victor D. Sanua

In October, 1973, I was spending my sabbatical in Israel working at the Tel Hashomer Hospital, one of the largest hospitals in the Middle East. Having enjoyed a relatively peaceful existence since the War of Attrition, Israel found herself again in a war with a high number of casualties, almost 3,000 dead and 10,000 wounded. It was a unique opportunity for a visitor to see how a small nation mobilized herself for survival and took steps taken to cope with the tragedy of bereaved families and maimed youth.

During the war and immediately afterwards, I was involved in the following activities: treating "shell-shock" patients at the Tel Hashomer Hospital; interviewing with psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers and lay volunteers who provided psychological assistance during the emergency, particularly to bereaved families; interviewing personnel of Yad La'banim, a nongovernmental organization established immediately after the War of Independence to look after the interests of bereaved families; visiting other hospitals where "shell shock" patients were treated; obtaining information through the news media pertaining to the social services provided in other areas of the country not visited; interviewing the bereaved parents of soldiers who had recently died in the Yom Kippur War; visiting Kyriat Shemona and Safed (the home of the victims of the Maalot terrorist attack).

Victor D. Sanua, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, St. John's University, Jamaica, N. Y. 11439

Later, under a small grant from the City College, City University of New York, the study was extended to cover 30 bereaved families of soldiers who had died in the Vietnam War. During the summer of 1976, I visited Israel again and conducted further interviews with 20 more Israeli families. By that time, they had been bereaved two and one-half years. In general, I found that many of these families had not yet recovered from their great loss. An Israeli bereaved mother who had helped me contact the families in Elath emphasized this fact with a letter which she subsequently sent to me and which reads as follows:

> I hope your work goes good on, and it will help us all, in our work with bereaving people. Sometimes I really stand and find not the way to go to the heart of my fellow-people. The grief grows with the time going on. I hope sometimes I can get your results, etc.

The present monograph represents a final report of these experiences with bereaved families in the U.S.A. and in Israel and a follow-up to an earlier paper entitled "War, Stress and Bereavement, A Report on Psychological and Social Services in Israel during the Yom Kippur War."

Wright (1965) in his monumental work on A STUDY OF WAR (1637 pages), which was based on Research conducted at the University of Chicago since 1926, while quite informative, does not deal with the most excruciating consequences of war-bereavement. However, he provides detailed statistics as to the number of civilians and

soldiers who became war casualties. The total number of deaths in World War II was 51,358,000. This includes 16,933,000 soldiers who died in combat or later of wounds and 34,325,000 civilians who lost their lives during this period. The greatest losses were sustained by Russia, (7,500,000 soldiers and 7,500,000 civilians), Germany, (3,250,000 soldiers), Japan (1,507,000 soldiers), China (2,200,000 soldiers and 20,000,000 civilians), Poland (2,000,000 civilians) and Yugoslavia (1,275,000 civilians).

The total number of lives lost in World War I has been estimated at 40,000,000 of which a quarter were from direct action. A new war with nuclear weapons will involve greater losses within a few days, mostly concentrated in Europe and North America.

An exhaustive search of the literature has indicated that systematic studies on war bereavement have not been published or, as far as is known, ever undertaken in the United States. Studies have been conducted with families of soldiers missing in action and families with soldiers who had been prisoners of war. Confirmation of the total lack of research with families of the war bereaved was received in a letter from Captain Hamilton I. McCubbin, Head of the Family Studies Branch of the Center for Prisoner of War Studies of the Naval Health Research Center at San Diego, who wrote the following:

> ...Our interest in your work stems from, as you might have expected, our work with families of servicemen missing in action and returned prisoners of war. We were, for the most part, functioning in isolation and were unaware of other research. The emergence of your work and the importance of your endeavor touches us because of its similarity both in findings and emphasis.

The efforts to find information of the war bereaved from the Department of Defense likewise were not successful, as can be seen from the following attempt of a letter received from the Chief of the Scientific and Technical Information Office: "The MEDLARS (Medical Literature Analysis and Retrival System) data base contains citations from the more than 2200 journals indexed in the Index Medicus. Only one citation specifically refers to war-related bereavement..." That single reference by Palgi (1974), an Israeli anthropologist, was already familiar to me, and her work is mentioned in the review of the literature.

There are, however, a number of books which have dealt with the effect of war on the family (e.g., Waller, 1940), but some of the topics included are the mores of the family, the dislocation of the community and social structure, the release of sexual impulses and the instability of war-time marriages. A recent book, The Impact of War on American Life, edited by Nelson (1971), includes more than 100 articles and a most extensive bibliography, but no single article or reference deals with the problems of the war bereaved. The book covers the effects of the war on politics, social conditions, thought, culture and economics. Ironically, on the cover of the book is a picture of a military ceremony, where one can see hundreds of tombstones and a lone woman standing before them.

As an illustration of this point, we would like to quote a letter of a woman addressed to the researcher expressing her willingness

to be interviewed. She states the following: "I know that research cannot be done without cooperation, and to the best of my knowledge, it is the ffrst time that anyone has shown an interest in the families of those killed in action."

Two issues are highlighted in this study: War-bereavement versus non-war bereavement and war-bereavement in the U.S.A. versus war-bereavement in Israel.

The first question is whether death occurring as a result of war has an impact on family members similar to that of death caused by sickness or accident. The hypothesis is that there are some differences. There is always an expectation, albeit often repressed, that a soldier might not return. Furthermore, it is thought that a soldier's death has significance for patriotic or other reasons.

The second question pertains to the differences in war bereavement resulting from the Vietnam War and that resulting from the Yom Kippur War.

There are important differences in the two situations that could easily result in dissimilar psychological responses. The Yom Kippur War threatened Israel's very existence, and the front was close to the heart of the country. On the other hand, U.S. service men were removed from the United States, and the issues were not very clear to many families. In Israel, there were also major differences between the 1967 and 1973 wars. In 1967 the Israelis attacked,

the war was over in a week; and they suffered relatively few casualties. The mood of the country at that time was one of elation. In 1973, the Israelis were caught by surprise and sustained serious losses over the course of nineteen days of fighting. These losses become more meaningful when it is estimated that 25% of the casualties were officers.

Approximately 50,000 U.S. servicemen died during a period of ten years of the Vietnam War. Lieberman (1972) estimated that the number of individuals immediately affected by the Vietnam losses was 250,000. He indicated that four out of ten men who died in the Vietnam war were married with an average of two children, three surviving parents and grandparents, and two to three siblings. With the approximately 3,000 Israelis who died in the Yom Kippur War, the total number of bereaved was approximately 50,000, considering the larger numbers of children per family among this group. The above total numbers obviously do not include aunts, uncles and other collateral relatives and friends. The estimated number in Israel includes only the bereaved from the Yom Kippur War. If all the casualties from the previous wars and those who died during the War of Attrition and local attacks including civilians were considered, the number of bereaved would certainly be extremely high. To take account of the major ramifications of the effect of the war on families, one would also have to include those families of the seriously crippled.

It was therefore somewhat of a surprise that despite the high number of war-bereaved parents and widows, research studies in

both the United States or Israel were nonexistent. How could this be explained? Possibly there is a reluctance to talk about the subject. As Milton Mayer (quoted in Lieberman, 1972) pointed out, "Death is the opposite of the weather. Everybody does something about it, and nobody talks about it."

Just as the discussion of sex was once taboo, it would seem that there is, according to Gorer (1956) a "pornography of death." Gorer also pointed out (1965) that in contemporary Britain, "Mourning is treated as if it were a weakness, a self-indulgence and reprehensible bad habit instead of a psychological necessity. We do not burn our widows; we pity and avoid them." There are quite a number of books written by anthropologists on burial and bereavement customs of primitives, (Evans-Pritchard, 1937; Frazer, 1933; Malinowski, 1926; Rivers, 1926). Comprehensive research on bereavement in the Occidental world is yet to be done.

II. A Short Review of the Literature on Non-war Bereavement

It is only in the past ten to fifteen years that research on death and dying has been recognized as a special field. These activities are recognized under the name of Thanatology, and there is a journal called Omega, an international publication for the psychological study of dying, death, bereavement, suicide and other related behaviors. There is also a French Journal, Bulletin de la Societe de Thanologie de Langue Française.

One of the earliest clinical articles on bereavement was written by Freud (1917), which was probably influenced by World War I. In that paper he compared normal mourning with melancholia. Mourning, never a pathological condition, has five characteristics. There is painful dejection, loss of interest in the outside world, loss of the capacity to adopt any new love object, the turning away from activities not connected with thoughts of the deceased, and an absence of significant drop in self-esteem and little self-accusation. In melancholia the last two characteristics loom very large. Freud felt that normal grief was self-limiting, was resolved by reality and that interference with it was useless and might even be harmful. The latter statement by Freud is of particular interest, since, according to Jewish tradition, mourners have to "sit," staying home for a period of seven days after the death of a member of the family. Thus, while Freud did not subscribe to Jewish tradition, it would appear, according to Kidorf (1963) that he was still influenced by his upbringing.

It was only in the 1930's and 1940's that a social scientist, (Eliot, 1930, 1932, 1933, 1938, 1943, 1946, 1955) began a campaign to persuade his colleagues to research death. He emphasized the importance of bereavement as a crisis for individuals and families. However, he did not conduct any systematic research himself.

Lindemann (1944) wrote the first clinical research report on 101 persons who, in the process of bereavement, were given psychiatric

treatment. On the basis of purely clinical interviews, Lindemann pointed out five characteristics of grief:

1. Somatic distress, difficulty in breathing, digestive symptoms with lack of appetite and feelings of exhaustion.
2. An intense preoccupation with the image of the deceased and a slight sense of unreality.
3. A feeling of guilt, self-accusation and negligence in relation to the deceased.
4. A tendency to respond with irritation.
5. Restlessness, inability to sit still and a disorganized pattern of conduct.

This paper has become a classic in the literature on bereavement, but there are a number of limitations to Lindemann's study. First, his sample included different types of relatives of the deceased, neurotic patients under treatment who had lost a relative during their therapy, relatives of those who lost a family member at the hospital, bereaved individuals from the disaster of the Cocoanut Grove fire and relatives of members of the armed forces. There was no effort on Lindemann's part to make any special reference to this last group. A combination of such disparate samples cannot provide good information on the phenomena of grief. Furthermore, Lindemann does not give any statistics. Despite the shortcomings of his article, it has often been quoted by others writing on bereavement.

A major variable that was not taken into consideration by

Freud and Lindemann is that the mode of bereavement, like any other behavior pattern, heavily depends on the values of the culture. While the United States has adopted the Protestant ethic whereby the open expression of emotion is frowned upon, Israel, with its conglomerate of individuals from different countries should demonstrate a kaleidescope of behavior during bereavement. Israelis include Jews from Eastern and Western Europe, from countries in the Mediterranean basin, and from Asia. Immediately after the Yom Kippur War, Palgi (1973) published an article entitled "Socio-Cultural Expressions and Implications of Death, Mourning and Bereavement Arising out of the War Situation." While the article could be acknowledged as very valuable for volunteers working with the bereaved, the material included is primarily impressionistic and anecdotal, with all the limitation of such an approach.

Talcott Parsons (1963) in a short paper discussed death in modern times. Today death and suffering represent less of an agony than in the past. New attitudes have developed that are less influenced by the traditional anxieties. Parsons classified the development of two types of orientations:

1. A normal or active orientation that stresses the moral significance of death as the termination of a completed life cycle of effort and achievement. Probably this is because death at a young age is not so frequent as it was in the past. In the normal orientation, which usually prevails

in modern American society, the individual is expected to face death in realistic terms, and his bereaved ones are expected to do their "grief" work quickly and privately.

2. A deviant orientation that is regressive and that tries to deny the reality of death. In this deviant orientation one sees such phenomena as the practice of cosmetic embalming to achieve the lifelike appearance of the corpse, the request for impermeable coffins, and so forth.

As an example of the normal orientation, one can recall the two funerals of the Kennedy brothers when the families stood almost impassive before the television cameras. One also remembers the speech by Ted Kennedy when he gave the eulogy for his brother, Robert, and how people marvelled at his control. Jacqueline Kennedy, likewise, was admired because of her control. With respect to the deviant orientation, one can mention the trend of freezing bodies after death from an incurable illness with the hope that some day the body may be resurrected when a cure is discovered.

Since Lindemann's research (1944) a number of books and articles have been published on dying and the bereaved: Feifel (1959, 1963), Vernon (1962), Gorer (1965), Fulton (1965), Pearson (1969), Moriarty (1967), Morris (1958), Parkes (1972), Kutscher (1969, 1971), Bowlby (1969, 1973), Kastenbaum and Aisenberg (1972), Lopata (1973) and Glick, Weiss and Parker (1974) just to name a few.

Marris (1958) found that the majority of thedwidows interviewed in London two years after bereavement had scarcely recovered; most of them found that their lives were futile and empty, many had become dependent on their familes and seemed apathetic. In 1966 Siggins conducted a critical survey of the literature on mourning. Among the many mourning reactions that may be expected depending on their families and seemed apathetic. In 1967 Siggins conducted a critical survey of the literature on mourning. Among the many mourning reactions that may be expected depending on the kind of relationship between the bereaved and the dead are guilt, anger, emancipation (e.g. schizophrenics having a remission after the death of their mothers) relief, anxiety, reactivation of old conflicts, helplessmess, somatic symptoms, denial and absence of emotion. All of the above can be considered normal as long as the reactions are not excessively intensive or violent or if the process is not unduly prolonged. Otherwise, the mourning is considered pathological. A third effect of mourning is illness precipitated by bereavement, perhaps a recognizable psychiatric disorder. The intensity of any one of the symptoms will determine in which of the three groupings it belongs. For example, Siggins suggests that anxiety is a normal process. If it is exaggerated, it becomes pathological mourning. If anxiety is very intense and forms a predominant symptom without the other signs of mourning, it may be psychiatrically diagnosed as a psycho-neurotic reaction precipitated by the death of a loved one.

Among more recent studies Bowlby (1969, 1973), discussed the dynamic process of bereavement. After the initial stage of protest and despair, disorganization sets in to be followed by reorganization. He correlates the process of bereavement with the modern biological theory of adaptation. He points out that the instinctive responsive systems in bereavement are still focused on the original object with angry efforts to recover it. In the last stage of reorganization, the mourner returns to his old activities and becomes again an effective citizen. Some bereaved, however, never make the transition back to their old selves. Pathological bereavement is a fixation in the first phase of the process of bereavement, when the individual, often unconsciously, is still striving to recover the lost object. Lopata (1973) interviewed 300 widows, many of whose husbands had been dead for a number of years. Those whose earlier life had provided little preparation for autonomy occupied a relatively marginal position in the community.

A book on bereavement which is statistically oriented is the one written by Parkes (1922), a British psychiatrist who conducted research in Maudsley Hospital, Tavistock Institute and Clinic, and the Laboratory of Community Psychiatry at Harvard Medical School. His purpose was to conduct a series of longitudinal studies of the reaction of widows to the death of their husbands. In his London study Parkes interviewed 22 widows at least five times within a period of 13 months after the death of their husbands. Obtaining their names through their general practitioners, he sent to the widows a letter explaining the purpose of his study. The data collected

at each interview included a subjective assessment by the widow of her general health (scored as "good," "indifferent" or "bad"), a count of the number of physical symptoms the widow had experienced since the previous interview (using a check list), a count of the number of consultations she had had with the general practitioner, and an assessment of irritability of anger as observed in the current interview (soored as "very marked," "marked," "moderate," "mild" or "absent." He found that irritability was correlated .70 with general health. In a prior study Parkes (1964) found that the widows saw their physicians more often (3.6 visits) within six months after bereavement than in the six-month period preceding before bereavement (2.2 visits). Parkes found that bereavement began with a feeling of numbness, which was followed by a yearning in which the "pangs" of grief occur. After the numbness came preoccupation with thoughts of the deceased. Widows were attracted to places that they associated with their husbands; they had hallucinations or sensed the presence of their husbands. Some of them had symptoms closely resembling the symptoms of the husband's sickness; they behaved or thought like their husbands. The next stage, which Parkes calls the pattern of mitigation, consists of (1) the blocking or denying affect; (2) partial disbelief; (3) the inhibition of painful thoughts and (4) the evocation of pleasant or neutral thoughts.

In a study in Boston by Parkes and Brown (1972) a control group for the widows and widowers they interviewed was used. A

questionnaire with 218 items covering a wide range of symptoms and attitudes revealed that the bereaved had more hospital admissions and consulted more people about their emotional problems than the control group. They reported more disturbance of sleep, appetite and weight loss and had increased their consumption of alcohol, tobacco and tranquilizers. Psychological symptoms included depression, strain, loneliness, restlessness, difficulty in making decisions and poor memory.

One of the latest books on bereavement (Glick, Weiss and Parker, 1974) reports on interviews with widows and widowers during the first year of bereavement. From an original list of 350 individuals, they were able to complete all four required interviews for 68 people. The psychological and emotional struggle for recovery from the time of loss to the time of resolution is documented. However, the volume is anecdotal. There were some sociocultural differences, but the authors do not believe that they are of much consequence as indicated by the following comments: "In addition to the religious differences in rites, there seemed also to be differences related to the socioeconomic standing of the respondents and to their ethnic background, but these differences appeared relatively minor." This statement appears in spite of the fact that in another context the writers indicated that "cultural emphases can produce somewhat different expressions of grief, even though the experience of grief is nearly universal." Their sample included a disproportionate

percentage of black females and families within blue collar ranks.

McCubbin, Doll, Metres, Hunter and Plag (1975) edited a book which included a number of papers resulting from the research carried on at the Center for Prisoner of War Studies (PW) of the Naval Health Research Center in San Diego. Families of servicemen missing in action (MIA) were also studied. The Center was established in 1972. The book (1975) contains chapters on the demographic profile of the combined PW and MIA population, an overview of their adaptation, their legal plight, the effect of bereavement on children and the grieving process. Other sections of the book discussed the repatriation problems, readjustment and reintegration and differences between the MIA mothers and MIA wives. An interview schedule was used to insure the systematic collection of the data. In general, it included demographic information and data relative to the family history, as well as psychological, social and medical factors related to the adjustment of family members to one another. It was felt by the interviewers that the needs of the wives to "tell their story" resulted in interviews which were often found to be supportive and therapeutic, similar to my experience in Israel. However, McCubbin et al believe that the analysis at the time of publication of the book could only be seen as exploratory, and, therefore, they presented their findings in an anecdotal form. Our own research dwelled on a relatively different population, only those families who were actually informed that their loved one had

fallen on the battlefield were interviewed. Families with missing soldiers whose bodies were found later were also included. I hypothesize that the grieving process of families of soldiers missing in action and soldiers reported killed in action is different, since in the first instance the family of the MIA would tend to maintain hope of his return.

The death or absence of the father in the family has negative effects on other members of the family. While there are numerous research studies on the mentally ill with a history of early bereavement, the number of articles on the immediate effects of bereavement on children is rather scant. The child, if a boy, may be asked to take the place of his father with all the ensuing anxieties. Mothers may even become seductive, as pointed out by Rosenbaum (1944). Siblings may also be affected. Obviously the stronger the attachment of the bereaved siblings to the dead serviceman, the more difficult the adjustment becomes. If the siblings are very young, it is possible, according to Cain, Fast and Erickson (1964) that there will be guilt reactions, disturbing concepts of death, death phobias, misidentification and disturbances in cognitive functioning. Further, the mourning of parents may affect the younger children. Another aspect that should be taken into consideration is the impact of the changes in the family structure as a result of the loss. A mother may become more solicitous of the safety of the surviving siblings or assume some aspects of the father's role.

I. AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS IN THE U.S.A.

As indicated earlier, approximately 50 (20 in the U.S.A.) families were interviewed in the U.S.A. and Israel. Contacting bereaved families during the initial stages of the research was a major problem. Government agencies such as the Department of Defense and the Veterans Administration were not willing to provide names in view of the confidentiality of their records. The families interviewed reflect a broad cross-section of social and cultural levels ranging from working-class families to professionals. The religious backgrounds varied from extremely religious to agnosticistic. The greatest loss was sustained by a military family, whose three sons had served in Vietnam. One had been killed in action; another was reported missing; and the third had been seriously wounded. A number of young Americans who were not college-bound enlisted because they felt that the draft was inevitable. Some young men felt the army would provide them with educational opportunities after their discharge or specialized training after they had served.

In view of the nonsystematic selection of bereaved parents, it would not be appropriate to conduct a statistical analysis of the responses for the purpose of generalization. This research was conducted as a pilot study to provide background information on the problems faced by bereaved parents and wives so that a more adequate study could be conducted in the future to provide directions with better instruments and somehow a random sample

could be interviewed more systematically. In view of the fact that there are no studies available in this area, it was felt such a pioneering effort could be useful in future research.

The questionnaire that served as a guideline in the interviews is in the Appendix.

Relatives of the bereaved were asked to provide a history of the soldier who had lost his life in combat, some information about his personality, their reaction when they heard the news of his death, and the aftermath of the tragedy, particularly their mourning process. Initially the interviewer asked questions to clarify a number of points in the family's statement. They were asked to free-associate. However, later in the interview when it was felt that important content was left out, specific questions were asked which had not been answered previously. All answers were recorded verbatim. In general, the bereaved indicated that the servicemen leaving for Vietnam hardly ever expressed fear or concern about the dangers involved in going to war. The families assumed that the servicemen did not want them to worry. However, in retrospect many families indicated that they remembered a number of incidents that might have reflected their fears of the soldiers not returning. They noted that some went to familiar places before their departure; some revealed their fears to nonfamily members. A few parents and widows felt guilty that they had not tried to elicit the expression of such fears. Even while the soldiers were in Vietnam, letters were more likely

to deemphasize the war and sometime presented a more favorable picture of their condition and expressed their optimism about returning back home to the U.S.A.

1.ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WAR

It is to be noted that in spite of the great controversy about the war, there was in general little discussion of its political aspects. Relatives concentrated on the loss of their loved ones. However, during the interview two families who belonged to the Gold Star Mothers for Amnesty expressed very strong feelings about the war. One mother later sent to me a seven page letter in which she expressed in very strong terms her feelings about the war and the significance of the loss of her son. Her letter is in the Appendix. One father, a prominent businessman, began draft-evasion counseling after his son's death. Realizing that his son could have benefitted before his death from the same counseling nearly destroyed the man with guilt. The sad fact for these parents is their realization that the war and their loss were meaningless and unnecessary. This is an enormous burden to live with, and each struggles to cope with the anger. Most of the families interviewed, particularly military families, felt that the U.S.A. was justified in being in Vietnam. In none of our interviews, however, was there an expression of hate towards the Vietnamese, but the anger was directed at the Communists. As one wife indicated, "If we are willing to stop the Communists in Israel, I do not see why they should not be

stopped in Vietnam". (The analogy between the two situations seems somewhat stretched).

Regarding the effectiveness of training of the soldiers, some respondents felt that the soldiers had not been well prepared for jungle warfare, or the training was too short, while others felt that they had been well trained. Only in one instance did one respondent indicate that the flying equipment was not adequate under battle condition. In general, all parents were proud of their sons. However, one mother showed concern that the children of the deceased soldiers were negatively influenced by the controversy about the Vietnam War. While children of those who died in World War II might have been proud of their fathers, it would appear that children of soldiers who died in the Vietnam War try to conceal the information that their father died in South East Asia. She wonders on the effects of this inhibition on children's self-image.

In the course of our interviews, we noticed that very few parents were interested in really finding out the circumstances in great details of the death of their loved ones, except that they were concerned whether they had suffered or not. There was one family where there was confusion on the part of the parents regarding the details of the death of their son as provided by the military. They had received conflicting reports. However, they did not go to great pains to obtain clarification about the exact circumstances of the death. However, a recent book written by D. Bryan, entitled Friendly Fire

reported on a family who did their utmost to discover the exact circumstances of the death of their son. He had not died in actual combat, but had died because of misdirected "friendly fire".

It would appear that some joined the military because their father had also been in combat and some mother expressed negative feelings towards their husband because consciously or unconsciously, fathers had influenced their sons to join the forces. Those who were drafted had to serve for one year or be jailed for 7 years for draft evasion. One Gold Star mother for Amnesty, felt that men who refused to go to Vietnam and went into exile were braver than those who went.

2. REACTIONS TO THE NEWS AND BURIAL

Generally two soldiers visited the homes of the bereaved to notify the families of the death of a soldier. It is customary that one of the soldiers be of the same rank or higher than the one who died. However, there appears to be differences in procedure depending on the service which is involved. They remained with the immediate family until other members arrived. A telegram followed up the initial visit confirming the death and providing clarification. Another telegram followed a few days later indicating the time of arrival of the body. One mother complained of the inappropriateness of the hour she received the telegram 1:30 A. M. Another complained of the term "remains", that was used to describe the body of her son.

Some of the mothers and wives were extremely shaken by the experience, and a number of them went into hysterics upon hearing the news from the casualty officer, who was instructed to open with the words, "Greetings...". Usually, he was not able to finish, since most knew the significance of his visit. A respondent whose husband had been a casualty officer prior to his going to Vietnam pointed out to his wife that it was easier to go to battle than to face the responsibility of informing the familiesof the death of a serviceman. There were indications that some of the casualty officers may not have been able to handle such a sensitive task. However, it could also be easily interpreted that the distress of the family receiving the news may have had something to do with this attitude. For example, a wife who had expressed great anger at a casualty officer and felt that he should have been in Vietnam fighting like her husband, in retrospect realized that her reaction had been inappropriate. The families with a higher level of education showed better emotional control. As one mother in a suburb of New York indicated, "We are Christians, and we have to bear this tragedy" while the father said, "We girded ourselves for that event." The wife of a marine who had been a casualty officer

indicated that when her husband went to inform the families of bad news, he would wear a blue uniform. When there was a minor injury, he would wear a green uniform. It is to be noted that when the Marines used in the telegram the words, "Guarded", it was an indication that there was little hope that the servicemen would recover from his wounds. Military families were better prepared to receive the news since they had seen bereaved families around them particularly when they lived in military sites and thus were more aware of the dangers involved in being in Vietnam. One mother indicated that she was very distressed when her mother had died, but losing one's son was much more serious. The mother of a helicopter pilot who had been shot down and subsequently drowned in South East Asia felt a strong desire to jump into the ocean herself and die like her son by drowning. One wife was somewhat surprised that her father-in-law showed very little emotion when he heard the bad news of his son's death. He was active during the initial mourning urging the rest of the family to eat and looking after their comfort. He went into great efforts to make elaborate arrangements for the burial. She felt that probably desiring to hide his grief, he plunged into a kind of a manic phase to keep himself busy. On the other hand, all his efforts and eagerness turned out to be distractions to the rest of the family since the father was somewhat overdoing it, and this distraction was welcome. Some families found that the casualty officers were very helpful

and quite considerate. Many called later on a regular basis to find out how the families were doing. Families were asked if they knew anybody in the army who could accompany the body until it reached home. Some families selected their son's buddies and if they were available, they would accompany the body back to the U.S.A. However, this was not the case with the Marines. In their case, the family could send a personal escort to Delaware from where the bodies were sent out or the East Coast. Bodies were prepared for burial prior to the time when they arrived at the parents' home. The casualty officer went with the parents to a funeral parlor to arrange for the burial. Some coffins arrived sealed and could not be seen by the families because of the condition of the body. Others could be seen, some bereaved parents and widows saw the bodies while others did not, preferring to remember their loved ones as they were when when they were alive. One mother supplied a friend with a picture of the dead soldier so that he could identify the body. Many expressed some faint hope that there might have been some mistake, but their illusions were shattered when the death of the dear one was confirmed. One mother described her son as an "inflated mannequin with a lot of make-up." One wife was distressed to see that her husband was wearing a rather poor quality uniform. She had insisted that he be dressed with his regular ceremonial uniform and polished brass buttoms. She felt that since her husband was fastidious he would have wanted to be buried in his best uniform.

Surprisingly very few families seem to visit the cemetery on a regular basis. Only one mother stands out, for she has continued to visit the burial site every other week for the last nine years. In contrast, the bulk of the parents visit on special days, for example, they might go on Memorial Day or on their son's birthday. One mother on her way to the cemetery indicated that she had heard her husband say, "go, back".

3. THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

My expectation was that the loss of a loved one would instill in the family a stronger religious feeling. However, it would seem that the effect of the loss depended more or less on the family's attitude toward religion prior to the tragedy. Those who were religious would tend to remain religious or become more religious. In general, most families in the U.S.A. felt that there is life after death. Some who questioned this possibility prior to the tragedy indicated that they had changed their minds. One parent pointed out, "Could not make up my mind, so I stopped worrying about it. Now I believe in life after death since it makes the mourning easier." One mother pointed out that her son is spiritually present because she would not "make it" otherwise. One mother whose husband had died two years after their son died stated that her husband had bemoaned the fact that he would have to wait 20 years to see his son, so firmly did he believe in life after death. The mother assumed that in his eagerness to see his

son in the next life he pushed himself to hurry his death.

4. THE EFFECTS ON CHILDREN AND SIBLINGS

Regarding the effect on the children of the death of a father, some mothers indicated that during the time of distress, they were not aware of anything unusual. However, other mothers pointed out that before and after the event, they had some evidence that the absence of the father was having some effect. One grandmother, whose son had later been reported missing, was with her grandson when his father came from Vietnam unexpectedly on a short visit. She noted that the six-year old, when he saw his father, closed his eyes and said, "Thank God, he is still alive." At times, the grandchildren considered their grandfathers as their father. A mother pointed out that her daughter, who was suffering from muscular dystrophy, was not the same person after her brother's death and died 3 years later.

At times, children indicated to their mother the desire to have a father thus expressing a serious need for a male figure. One mother who had five children went into great details in indicating the effect of the death of the father on all of her children. While she feels that some of her children may have had problems prior to the death of their father, their condition may have worsened as a result. Two of her boys sufferred from asthma, and one of them had a learning disability. Her daughter appears to have been more seriously affected since she tried to commit suicide

by lashing her wrists and subsequently had to be hospitalized in a psychiatric hospital because she had become psychotic. She had the illusion that her father had committed suicide and she felt that he had abandonned her. While one of her boys expressed to his mother the need for a father, he was somewhat confused. He felt that his deceased father was in heaven and sooner or later all the family would join him and thus be reunited. He had problems reconciling these two wishes and thinking about the role of the new father.

One mother pointed out that when her first son died, her second son who was very depressed, joined the army because he had strongly identified with his brother and wanted to see what it was like in Vietnam and relive the experiences of his older brother. Men in general would rarely express public grief in public at the news of their son's death. However, as indicated elsewher, the effects were felt later.

5. MYSTICAL THOUGHTS AND DREAMS IN CONNECTION WITH THE LOSS OF A SOLDIER

A number of parents and wives indicated that on the day of the death, they had a presentiment that something was wrong. Many feared even before the departure of their loved one for Vietnam that he would not return. One interviewee had dreamed that her husband had fallen in battle even before he left for overseas. She found that the description of the event when her husband was killed

coincided with her dream. It is felt that the more educated families had less to report on dreams about the deceased.

Furthermore, a number of mothers had dreams just before receiving notification of their son's death. They later recalled the dream as an omen.

In one mother's dream her son came to her door all bloody and wounded in his uniform. He explained that he had come home to die. She screamed and awakened the entire household. His death was announced as having happened about the time of her dream. Some months later she dreamt of him in sports clothing where she embraced him and expressed concern about his thinness until he disappeared in her arms telling her not to worry. This made her mourning more bearable.

There appears to be a basic difference between the dreams reported by mothers and dreams reported by wives. Mothers in general see their son in a situation of dependency, needing help such as money, or running towards his parents, or seeing him as "being in a cage like a kitten", kissing or hugging him or even the son comforting the mother. One mother felt that she had extra-sensory perception and was communicating with her son and knew what was happening.

The dreams of the wives in general were more likely to be dreams of being abandonned. One wife said, "I saw my husband leaving me in my dream I screamed, "Please don't leave me". The

response she had received was that he had to "go back".

6. PARENTS/DAUGHTER IN LAW PROBLEMS

Parent/daughter-in-law conflicts. One mother was concerned that the daughter-in-law, because of career interests, was neglecting her grandson, and pointed out that only when he is with her (the grandmother), he is not neurotic. She wants her daughter-in-law to remarry so that her grandson will have a stepfather. Her own husband had died from cancer which developed subsequent to notification that his son was missing in action. On the other hand, another mother indicated that there was no serious need for a remarriage, since the brothers of their daughter-in-law could serve as father surrogates. One mother expressed annoyance towards her daughter-in-law, who was living with her while her husband was overseas, had been married for a period of only seven months, and received numerous members of the faculty and friends during the mourning period. The mother felt that she was not living in her own home and was resentful of her daughter-in-law because when she received her husband's belongings from the army, she did not share the contents of the parcels with her in-laws.

It is also possible that the daughter-in-law was unwilling to show the content of the package to avoid distress with the parents looking at their son's clothings which at times were returned with spots of blood.

7. THE EFFECTS OF THE TRAGEDY ON THE MENTAL AND PHYSICAL HEALTH OF THE BERAVED

Generally, there was somatization with grief particularly in the early stages of the mourning, an increase in blood pressure, stomach disorders, loss of appetite and weight, insomnia. One mother indicated that her hair had turned white two or three weeks after receiving the news of her son's demise. A number of parents sought psychiatric care and expressed some concern about suicide or going crazy. Some mothers pointed out that if it were not for their young children requiring their attention, they would have gone downhill. The death of two fathers within one or two years was attributed to the loss of their son. Two fathers were under psychiatric care. Many families used tranquilisers, one family turned to alcohol. Some became bed-ridden for a few weeks after the news. All fought off depressions with hard work. One mother felt terribly guilty because she could not afford the expenses of a college education for her son, and the latter had volunteeered with the expectation that upon his discharge, he would be entitled to go on the G.I. bill. He had not told his mother that he had enlisted. At times, some wives who had expressed a sense of abandonment were overwhelmed by a sense of responsibility towards the household and the children.

8. MEMORABILIA

Whether there are visits to the cemetery or not, the deceased is often remembered by framed photographs prominently displayed in the home, along with the funeral flag, medals and letters from

Presidents, governors, mayors and high army personnel which were sent to the family.

Several families expressed a desire to remember their sons as civilians and to that extent have rid themselves of army clothes and boot camp books. Not so with most who are eager to show the albums they have created with pictures that encompass the deceased's childhoood up to his military service. One parent has this entire collection spanning her son's short lifetime framed and displayed.

A family who now works for amnesty and in the past participated in anti-war movements, has their son's letters describing his feelings and experience in Vietnam printed in a book.

I particularly remember the size of the framed photographs of several families. They had enlarged pictures of their son and had many placed throughout the house.

Those interviewed were eager to remember their son as a young man generally idealizing his goodness.

9. INSURANCE MONEY

This remains for most parents an uncomfortable topic. Some call it "blood money" and used it to help other young men escape the draft at the time. Others have gone on trips to help the mourning, and some have used it to help repair their homes. All feel that it can never compensate for their loss and are squeamish about spending it.

10. THE PROBLEMS FACED BY WIDOWS

Widows who are mature and have grown-up children faced a problem of companionship. It was difficult for them to remarry, since there were fewer males of their age available. One wife indicated that this is a marriage-oriented society and that the single women or widow is out of place. She felt the former women friends were less inclined to invite them, probably because they would represent a threat to their own marriage, particularly if the widow was pretty. Going out on their own presented a problem in that there would be subsequent innuendos and gossip later.

11. SUMMARY ON THE INTERVIEWS WITH U.S.A. FAMILIES

There was a wide variation in the family's reactions to the loss of a husband or a son. Some accepted the death quite stoically particularly when it was believed that the loved ones died for a good cause. However, these parents who felt that the war was unjustified felt great pain about the loss of a son. In general, there was little expression of hostility towards the enemy. There was minor interest in finding the details of the death. Probably the distance of the theatre of war would have made such efforts difficult. Casualty officers had the difficult task of reporting the death to the families. The families' comments as to their ability to cope with such a task was mixed. Fathers in the United States tended to be in better control at the time that the news was given, the impact however, appears to have been felt later. Some families preferred a full military fumeral while others pre-

ferred a simple ceremony. The tragedy did not seem to affect the religiosity of the families, since the religious attitude of the family prior to the death of the soldier did not basically change. The death of a father seems to have had serious impact on a number of children and one of them had to be hospitalized for a psychotic break. Sons appeared in the dreams of the parents in need of succorance, while wives tended to express anger at their husband for their abandonment. There was some expression of distress in the relationship between in-laws and daughter-in-laws, the latter receiving more of the attention then the parents. One or two large pictures of the deceased were displayed in many homes and a few families had prepared albums of pictures. A number of widows expressed concern that in a marriage-oriented society, their widowhood was more difficult to adapt to.

What we have presented here are general impressions after interviewing 20 families from various socio-economic status. It is felt that what has been provided is a flavor of the reaction of a number of parents and wives at the loss of a son or a husband in a war which had become polemical. Hopefully, one of these days, it would be possible to carry a well-controlled study across the U.S.A. with a much larger sample.

IV. INTERVIEWS WITH BEREAVED FAMILIES IN ISRAEL

As indicated earlier prior to our interviews with bereaved families in Israel, we had an opportunity to interview a number of volunteers who had visited bereaved families during and immediately after the Yom Kippur War. The War started on October 6th. 1973 at 1:30 p.m. when Israel was celebrating the Yom Kippur (The day of Atonement). Many of the male population attend religious services on that day. Some were told of the news by their own children who were sent to the Synagogues to inform their fathers. Those who knew their assignment in case of such an emergency left immediately. Others had to wait for their call from the Army. In general there was great eagerness on the part of the Israelis to get into combat zone even if they were not obligated. Interviews with families were carried out in English, French of Spanish.

The Yom Kippur War, contrary to the previous wars in Israel, was unexpected. It is reported that approximately 600 new recruits primarily manned the Bar-Lev Line on the Canal. The Israeli government while aware that there were troop movements which could have been interpreted as movements towards war, preferred not to start a pre-emptive action for fear of world opinion. AS a result of the suddeness of the war there was a rather large number of soldiers suffering from "combat fatigue." Some were treated immediately behind the lines on the basis of the experience acquired during World War II and Vietnam. Those more seriously affected were sent to military hospitals away from the front. The writer had an opportunity to interview a number of these soldiers while he was working at the Tel Hashomer Hospital. He hopes to write in the future a paper on the subject.

Approximately thirty families were interviewed during the summers of 1974 and 1976, half of them originated from Europe, primarily Poland, Russia (two had come via South America) and the others originated from Muslim countries, Egypt, Morocco, Turkey, and Syria. There were two families from English speaking countries, the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom. All families who were approached accepted readily to be interviewed with one exemption. The daughter of a bereaved mother, with whom the contact was made first, volunteered to be interviewed rather than her mother, since she felt that the latter would not take too well to such an interview. According to Israeli army regulations, if one son dies in the war, another son could be excused from any dangerous mission in the army in time of peace or war. However, from my interviews, it would appear that no one seemed to have taken advantage of that regulation One father reported to me that when the Yom Kippur War broke out, he tried to reach his younger son who was studying in the U.S.A. to request him not to get into active combat since he had already lost a son previously. However, his son managed to join his Unit in Israel. The father who was given an excuse that his son had gone on vacation in th U.S.A. guessed that he had joined his Unit. He was able to trace his whereabouts in Israel. Interestingly enough, I was able to meet with both of them at a later period and noted that there were ideological differences between father and son with regard to the Middle East conflict. The father tended to be rather

"hawkish", while the son appeared to be "dovish". Thus in spite of that "dovish" attitude and his privelige not to get into active combat, the son joined his unit immediately after Israel was attacked. Many of the bereaved parents indicated that their sons' death could be attributed to the fact that they had volunteered for dangerous missions or that they were hit while they were trying to save some of their wounded friends or commanders.

A content analysis of all the interviews was conducted and the information was arranged on the basis of a number of topics or areas of concern.

1. EXPRESSION OF SORROW BY THE BEREAVED FAMILIES

As indicated earlier, there is little comparison between the Vietnam War and the Yom Kippur War. On the one hand, American soldiers were fighting on foreign soil thousands of miles away while the home base was safe. In Israel the fighting started at least initially on Israeli soil and the very existence of Israel was in jeopardy. Contrary to the killed in action in Vietnam, who tended to be bachelor, 75% of the Israeli soldiers who died were married and a number of them had left pregnant wives. It is to be noted that in a general mobilization, middle-aged men fight in the Israeli army. It would seem that the need to care for younger children at time prevented serious depressions, as one mother indicated, "I had to sing songs to my daughter, in spite of the fact

that I was not in the mood". Many of the older parents appeared to have received solace from their interaction with their grandchildren. One father whose son had married, doted over a baby of a married daughter who was given the name ofthe dead son. He stated the following, "I have not lived since my son died. I hope I shall live now since I have a grandson and we hope to be blessed with additional children. We may thus have straws of happiness This is what Ronny's (son's name) wants me to do. I apologize for being deep in sorrow. With sorrow for him, I forgot about the family. This is what he would probably tell me. Look after Mom and the rest of the family". One father reported that after visiting a bereaved father who expressed the wish to have had another son, decided to have another child at an advanced age. His son who was already in the army fell during the Yom Kippur War. The bereaved father felt that he had taken the right decision. The new baby made the death of his older son more tolerable. Within the past few years, I was told that young couples in Israel tend to have more than the usual 2 or 3 children. The reason is that there is the possibility that they may have to lose a child in a future war and they want to be prepared by having a number of children. It is somewhat unfortunate that the incentive to have more children is because of fear of losing one of them at war.

One particular source of sorrow is the Passover festival when Jewish families celebrate together the exodus from Egypt about

3000 years ago. Fond memories of the departed are bound to return during such moments and crying would certainly interfere with this joyous occasion. To avoid such unpleasantness, a father preferred to spend the Passover night with an Arab friend despite the fact that he had relatives. The reason he gave is that he did not want to spend the ceremonial meal with them since he felt his personal tragedy would put a damper on the usual expression of joy which develops during the Passover festival. Holding his own Seder at home would be unthinkable.

One mother expressed very early the fear of losing a son with the following words, "I had three sons. I liked to see them asleep. I used to think which one will die. Every child has something to give and no one should die. They were so beautiful. My children, my son. He was premature, very delicate as a youngster but healthy later."

It was noted that clothing of the departed were not given away as in the U.S.A. They were kept at home or sometimes other members of the family wore the clothes. Somehow there was the need to be close to the dead. One mother was wearing around her neck, her sons's dog tag. One father who was relatively young, went into an officer's training similar to his son's who had died. He wanted to go through the experiences that his son went through. He obtained his commission.

While many parents showed great distress when they heard the news, many of them were reluctant to receive doctor's shots to calm them down. It should be noted that during the interviews in

Israel, there was a greater expression of grief through frequent crying, during the interviews. It is possible that this may be due to the recency and suddenness of the Yom Kippur War while there was a better emotional control in the U.S.A since the Vietnam War killed in action had died years before. Another possibility is that Israelis have less inhibitions in expressing openly their sorrow. It is to be noted that grief was not limited only to the immediate family. There were indications that a number of girl friends had been seriously affected by the death of their soldier friend. One bereaved sister indicated that she has some suspicion that her brother's girl friend who subsequently married seems to visiting the cemetery frequently.

There were some efforts on the part of the bereaved to make the death more acceptable. They felt that their loved ones had lost their life for a good cause, as one mother indicated, "We are alive because they are dead". Another pointed out that it is easier when a son dies in War rather than in an accident. One parent felt that it would be difficult for a mother to accept her son's death during the Vietnam war compared to the Yom Kippur War. A number of parents emphasized the fact that their sons were pacifists and had disliked army life. One mother expressed these feelings in the following words:

"...My son was a pacifist, but never used it to get a job not connected with fighting. He was clever, interested in the sciences and the arts. As a youngster, he used his pocket money to buy books on art. He painted until the end of his 15th year, visited museums, never hit another child, played games which involved no conflicts. He hate the army, he hated every moment being a soldier, he loved his army friends, nevertheless. He did not like to be commanded. He became a sergeant at 18. His girl friend told me that when they strolled and looked at shops, he said that when he has children, he will never buy things about war."

Time for the normalization of the bereaved's lives differed. One mother said that for a whole year, she did not care about the household, she felt that life was not worth living. The only mother whom we were not able to interview remains most of the time (until today) in bed mourning for her departed son. In general, they acknowledge that there was a great deal of crying particularly when they were alone because they did not want to distress the other members of the family. Three fathers, at least originally refused to say Kaddish (prayer for the dead) over their son's grave. It is customary for the son to say the Kaddish prayer for the father. One father, who was a good speaker, persisted in giving an eulogy over the grave of his son. His eulogy was interrupted by sobs, but he continued. One father who was a lecturer, indicated that at times he cries while he lectures. One mother expressed her bereavement with the following words:

"The first time I went out of the house, everything was the same but it was so different for me. I could not move with the world. Life goes on as usual, I resented it. I wanted to stand on the top of the mountain, so that I could say, "My son is dead, everybody should hear it."

This mother developed a fear of riding busses. One who had lost two sons stated the following:

> "It is very hard, every minute I have souvenirs. After the young died, the older consoled me. I can't say, God, Why did you do this to me? Like pigeons, both were taken away. We are left impotent, infirm, loss of a child is the greates loss in the world. It is better for a mother to die, otherwise, she dies 10 times a day. A child can live without a mother, but a mother cannot live without her child."

The mother who made the above a statement had spent a year in a mental institution after she had attempted suicide. A father who had not been able to work since the death of his son expressed his grief in the following way:

> "I cannot explain in any language or book, how I feel about my son. Nobody can describe it in any language. We live in an undescribable pain, the mind cannot conceive. We speak and this is not natural. My son was the eyes of the family and they are gone with his death."

Another expressed his in the following words:

> "I have died a million deaths since I lost my son. My wife had greater inner strength than me, she had the ability to concentrate on her two daughters. I still need my son, nothing will ever replace him. The mother's reaction may be deeper but who can assess pain.

It is to be noted that these two fathers who expressed such deep sorrow came from totally different cultural and educational background, the former was a former policeman, while the latter was intellectual. He was formerly a correspondent and now an executive of an important firm. One mother felt that as a consequence of her son's death, she divorced her husband (who was a step-father to her son) and had difficulties with the other children.

However, this is a unique case, a family breaking up as a result of the tragedy.

A number of parents indicated that they had acquired new friendships with the death of their son. They did it either on their own or through the Yad Labanim. Parents get together socially and discuss their sons and this provides some solace. One mother expressed her sense of identity with other bereaved parents with the following words:

> "Birds of the same feather flock together. I am fearful to go to their homes (old friends) and meet carefree happiness. I never introduce the subject of my son and they don't either. I prefer that they do not talk because I know they do not have the feeling I have. With the group of new friends, I feel happy, I feel free to talk, we talk about our sons. I never saw their sons before, but each one of us knows the other sons as if they were raised together, we even mention the dimples they had, it is like a therapy group. Parents whose children fell together, get together even if they are at a distance. One parent in a kibbutz may have more in common with a family in Tel-Aviv than a bereaved parent in the same Kibbutz because the son of the Tel-Aviv family fell under the same fire as their son did."

These groups at times visit the battlefield where their sons fell.

2. PHYSICAL CONSEQUENCES OF BEREAVEMENT

Many of the bereaved parents reported health problems after the death of their sons or husbands such as high blood pressure, insomnia, increase in diabetic conditions, etc. A father who did not express his grief openly died of a heart attack, some stopped working for a period of time. Some indulged in cigarette smoking, coffee drinking, only one acknowledged that alcohol was

used. One area which was seriously affected in general was the sex life of the parents. One mother said that since her son's death her husband has been a "stranger to her". One couple insisted that everything continue as usual, they attended weddings and Bar Mitzwas as if the death had not happened. However, when they were asked about their sex life, they admitted that this was the "only thing" that had been seriously affected.

3.EFFECTS ON THE CHILDREN AND SIBLINGS

Mothers in general appeared to be willing to talk to their children about the missing father in spite of their great pain. Very young children make comments about their missing fathers. For some of them, it was a difficult situation as can be seen from the following example. One mother who had remarried caused distress to her daughter. The girl was scolded for not calling her new father, "Abba". Another expressing her dilemmas with her children stated the following, "If I want to go out, my children suffer and if I take care only of my children, I suffer. I want to marry but it is very difficult. My parents and his parents do not offer to baby-sit for me. I do not like to go out alone."

Many mothers are perfectly willing to consider a

remarriage and appear to be encouraged by their in-laws but they feel that it would be very difficult to replace their dead husbands. In early widowhood, they resented any reference to the possibility of their remarriage. One mother faced a difficult time explaing the death of the father to her very young daughter. This is how she reports her experiences:

> "For 10 days, the little girl did not speak, she was disoriented. When I went out of the house for the first time, she asked, "Where is Abba." Probably she did not ask the question before because she thought it would have hurt me. Later I explained to her that he was hurt and would not come back and she said, "He went to Heaven?" I do not know how she got the idea. The boy who was younger asked, "What is war" I did not want to use the words Arabs since I did not want my children to hate. I was concerned when they started school because of the lack of a father. When my daughter was in school, another child told her, "You have no father" She answered, "Yes I have a father but he is in Heaven and yours is not" and apparently the other child started to cry. She could defend herself and she does not feel inferior because she has no father."

However, it becomes somewhat distressing when the young children do not seem to understand. A child expressed a great deal of anger because the father was not defended before he died. A 2½ year old broke into hysterics when he was told that his father would not return. He started calling his grandfather "Abba" which was rather painful to the family. The following letter which I received from my daughter while I was in the USA reveals the feelings of a young child who missed his father:

> There's a pretty sad thing going on next door. Leora's husband is in the Golan now. She and Shirete and Ariel were expecting him to come home for the weekend, but with the recent alert he couldn't. The kids are in a pretty bad way. Shirete wets her bed and comes into her mother's room and wakes her up. Leora's mother is staying with them, but I've had quite enough baby sitting jobs. Shirete is old enough to know what's going on--but Ariel is only about two (he can't talk) and all he knows is that his "Abba" (father in Hebrew) isn't home and he wants him. I took both of them to the park. Shirete can play by herself. I just have to watch her. Ariel I have to lift on the slide, on the swings everytime he wants to do anything and all day he keeps saying "Abba." When he wanted a cookie, he said, "Abba." When he saw David (my son) or men on the street, he went "Abba." Mom says the word "Abba" has become a general meaning for him, symbolizing something he wants. He says it all the time, even when he is smiling. It really kills me. I can't help but think of all the little children in Israel who are old enough to know what is happening but too young to understand why. Anyhow, yesterday "Abba" came home for just one day. Mom and I saw Shirete in the hall, and Mom asked, "Abba babait?" (Is your father home?). Shirete shouted, "Ken!" (yes), ecstatic with joy. But he left this morning, he only had 24 hours.

A mother reported that her 14-year old son was seriously affected by the death of an older brother. He went into deep depression. His older brother was "his ideal, a symbol to emulate." He was sent to the USA to stay with relatives until the crisis was over.

4. LIFE AFTER DEATH

During the early stages of bereavement, the question is often raised about life after death. In the Jewish tradition, it would appear that very little is said about the existence of a soul after death, there does not seem to be a formal religious belief in this area. I asked all of the bereaved relatives whether they believed in life after death. Reflecting probably the religious tenets of their group, practically all of the bereaved indicated that there

is no life after death as one parent pointed out, "It is terrible that there is no life after death.

> I am jealous of those who are religious and believe. In such a tradgedy it is easier to be consoled. Kaddish is the praising of God. Why Glory of God after such a tragedy?"

Other expressions of ambivalence were given by other relatives:

> "I feel that the body disappears. We do not want the dead to to disappear. We want to remember and this is probably life after death. It is a rationalization.
>
> I am not sure, I want to believe, it is good for me to believe of life after death. I am prepared to believe in reincarnation.

A bible scholar decided on this dilemma by saying that people have to be remembered and that he had decided not to take a decision if there is life after death. A father who had been most affected by the death of his son stated, "I continue the same life as if he were alive. I do believe in life after death. When the Messiah comes, all dead will be alive." This father had a most unusual experience. While looking at a public notice on the death of a man in a small town where he lived, he saw the name of his son instead of the man's name. He made it clear this was not a dream.

5. DREAMS ABOUT THE DEPARTED AND MYSTICAL THINKING EXPRESSING DENIAL OF DEATH.

While most of the parents either did not believe in life after death or had some questions about it, all of them had dreamed of the departed and some were able to provide a number of elaborations. Parents through their dreams, somehow express their denial of the death of their sons. One mother heard herself say the following words to her son:

"Tell the World that you are not dead". Another saw her son returning from a trip and he was carrying a valise and she said in the dream, "You are alive, I kissed him, he was happy, he was not sad, he is not dead." Others saw their sons justifying the reasons the reasons for their long absence as having gone on a secret mission, being prisoners of the Syrian. The person in the dream tended to be dressed in white. Others saw their sons as being in distress, suffering or vulnerable. Wives tended to see their husbands under pleasant conditions such as being happy together. One wife reported the following dream.

> We were in a prairie, a pastoral scene, Paradise.
> We are moving on water, we are naked in Paradise.
> It occurred several times. It was very pleased. I was
> angry when I woke up.

Sometimes the denial was quite conscious. A mother, even after she had been told that her son had died said the following:

> Even after they found him, I still believed that he was a
> Syrian prisoner, he probably had escaped, he was an
> excellent basket ball player, he must have escaped, I did
> not lose faith.

Practically every family in one way or another developed a belief system or went through some ritual which expressed their unwillingness to accept death as final. Grief must have affected their sense of realism.

One mother to make her pain more bearable convinced herself that her son was in America. Another for about a year, wrote letters to her son telling him what was going on and how she felt about him. She also bought him some presents. A father was in the habit of going to the balcony to talk to his son, some heard voices, foot-

steps, etc. One mother indicated that until to-day, she places a plate on the table for her son. One wife washed her husband's clothes after his death to counteract her feelings of despondency. One mother was so irrational in her grief that she hit the doctor who reported on the death of her son, she refused to believe that he was dead. Some felt that their dead son was still alive and around. One father said, "My wife goes to the cemetery every week, I don't. My son is not in that hole, I wear his badge, my son is dead physically, I want him to be alive, he is so alive, he is not dead, he is living with us, he is back through my granddaughter.

Practically every bereaved parent and wife, at least initiallly, felt that they were seeing their loved one when looking at a particular soldier who had the slightest resemblance to the departed. One mother reported that experience in the following manner:

> "I was in Arat visiting, I was sitting in a cafe and saw a young man like my son. I was with my daughter and I saw that she was crying. She had seen the young man before I did and I cried too. The soldier was a Druze." A father said, "I see him 24 hours a day, if I see a child, I think it is him, if I see a soldier, I think it is him." A mother was haunted by a song about the story of a soldier returning to his love after the War and she thought he was singing it to her.

One mother accepted a belief in predestination regarding the unavoidance of death by expressing her conviction in the following manner:

> "As an only son, I could have asked him not to take any dangerous mission but I did not want to do that because I feared that I would lose him. I know of one couple who were able to convince their son to be out of a danger zone and he was kiiled by a bomb doing kitchen work. Two soldiers who had missed joining their unit which was subsequently completely wiped out, both died in a car accident a week later."

Israeli bereaved parents tend to visit cemeteries rather periodically

In view of the proximity of the burial grounds, these visits are made easier. One father indicated his intention to continue visiting the cemetery twice a week in the following way: "I'll stop when my legs won't carry me." At times, parents visit yearly the battlefield where their sons fell.

6. FEELINGS OF JEALOUSY

Three of the family visited expressed jealousy because other families did not have to go through what they had gone themselves. A young widow was jealous to see her acquaintances with their husbands. One mother was reluctant to hear about the success of her son's friends, of their educational advances, marriage and family growth. This mother expressed her frame of mind with the following words, "Why me? no one of my friend had lost a son?" She wanted to talk further about her innermost feelings but she needed some goading before she continued with her stream of thought in the following manner:

> "I wanted them to lose a son like me but I felt that I had to overcome these feelings. It was crazy conflict, it was unjust. I avoided the eyes of my neighbor whose son had returned. I felt guilty. They are not fools, they were not accepted in my house with pleasure. It is cruel to want them to have to have the same feeling I have. I blame myself for these thoughts. I never talked about these feelings until I spoke in a group of bereaved parents and another mother told me that she felt the same way and this was a relief to me."

Another father expressed the deepness of his sorrow in the following words:

> "Why my son? I see other children having fun. Why the misforture to us. Why did God take away my son in this way, he was good, he was an angel good heart, why should he go.

One mother could not stand to see the sight of her son's girlfriend who subsequently married and had started a family. The sight of her pushing a baby carriage was more than she could take. She purposefully moved out of the neighborhood.

7. **FEELINGS OF GUILT**

All parents and wives were asked whether they had any sense of guilt which developed subsequent to the death of their dear ones. Approximately half of the group had some guilt feelings for one reason or another. One mother had encouraged her son to get into the army since he had not made up his mind about the branch of engineering he wanted to select in college. She felt that experience in the army would have enabled him to make the right choice. Three parents felt very guilty because, they had spoken very little before the son went away and had not told them to be careful while in the army. One father felt guilty because he did not have a sense of danger when his son went to the front. One wife expressed guilt because she was "living" and enjoying her children and her husband was not.

8. ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ARABS AND EXPECTATIONS OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Like in the USA, not one single family interviewed expressed any feelings of hatred towards the enemy soldiers, although expressing negative feelings towards the terrorists.

While all hoped that peace sooner or later will be established, most however pointed out that this was simple wishful thinking on their part. No one had become convinced that the Arabs were willing to accept the existence of Israel. The following are some of the

remarks made by bereaved relatives:

> "Peace... (smile) I do not know, future does not exist for me but it exists for my son. Therefore I think about the future. That's why I want to believe that peace is possible. Let the Jews live in peace. I hate politicians. I hope that in spite of what I know of Arab hatred, they will understand and stop the bloodshed. I hope we meet some day. Israel would be wonderful without war. My dreams and reality are two different things.
>
> I do not believe in peace, no hope of friendship between Jews and Arabs. These deaths are useless. I do not see the end of it until there are no young men to die.
>
> Arabs, I have no grudge, it was a fair fight. My son would do the same thing. Mother does not think about hatred. Regarding peace, after the 6 days war I was optimistic. After the Yom Kippur War, I feel there will be another war. I am realistic.

This hopelessness regarding the ultimate solution of the problem makes the death of so many young men hard to take. We have already indicated that fathers in general seem to be more seriously affected by the death of their son. It was suggested to me that having fought in previous wars and thinking that it would be the last one and the subsequent death of their own sons in new battles makes it very hard for them to accept their tragedy.

9. MEMORABILIA

After the interviews with the bereaved parents, they showed me the many ways they perpetuate the memory of their sons. In one home, I saw seven pictures on the wall of the living room, including an oil portrait. However, in one home of a Morrocan-born father, the picture of his son was covered, and I was told it would be un-

covered a year after his son's death. In one home there was a shelf on which were exhibited the army insignia and medals of the fallen son, displayed in a transparent plastic case with a permanent light. In another home, a shell casing which had been collected by the dead soldier prior to the war was turned into an object of art, fashioned into the shape of a heart, bearing his army insignias, with an inscription in Hebrew indicating that he would not be forgotten. In some instances, the fallen soldier's room was left intact, with all his belongings on display. It was reported to me that one bereaved couple had managed to build a model tank in their backyard which was lit at night. Most kibbutzim and moshavim have a special room set aside to memorialize their dead. They are sometimes separate small buildings which are usually used for meditation. Pictures of the fallen are displayed with the dates of their birth and death. Most parents were proud to show me a big folder with the letters they had received from various officials, renging from the President of Israel to the unit commander, expressing their condolences. Some even showed me the high school diploma and the grades.

Another way to perpetuate the memory of the fallen is to write a small commemorative book about him. I stayed with a bereaved family in a kibbutz for two days, and was shown books which were published not only for those who died in the war, but also for those who died either in accidents or natural death. Some are quite elaborate and professionally bound. The Ministry of Defense provides

the funds to the families who wish to prepare such a commemorative book for their son. The Ministry of Defense also maintains an up-to-date directory of such books.

The Ministry of Defense uses the services of a well-known writer, Reuven Avinoam to read the literary productions of the fallen soldiers and select the best items ehich are periodically published in a commemorative anthology. Four such anthologies, of approximately 600 pages each, have already been published. Dr. Eugene Weiner, an American-born sociologist, from the University of Haifa, has been conducting a study of books commemorating the fallen Israeli soldiers. Some Oriental families keep the memory of their sons by purchasing a Sefer Torah on which is inscribed the name of the fallen, and which is used during religious services. Names of the fallen also appear on chandeliers, curtains, etc. of the synagogues.

Israel also has a large number of monuments to commemorate her dead, ranging from simple stones set one on top of the other, to quite large structures such as one can see on the Golan Heights, which look like arrows fanning skyward. Similar smaller monuments are to be found in other places, usually where some battle took place. Sometimes a burned out tank or armoured car with the names of those who fell inscribed on stones are seen along the road. These monuments cannot be missed by anyone travelling on the highways of Israel.

What needs somehow to be explained is the consistent emphasis on being reminded of the fallen soldier by such physical tokens as commemorative booklets, displayed insignias, photographs, etc., besides a large number of monuments found in all parts of the country. This becomes even more surprising when Jewish tradition emphasizes simple burials with pine coffins and plain tombstones, and discourages the placement of flowers on graves, and when belief in life in the fereafter remains a nebulous concept. While the physical trappings of death are deemphasized by religion, the memory of the dead remains alive through the daily recital of the Kaddish prayer for a whole year subsequent to the death, and at least once a year after that. However, as one rabbi indicated to me, although all these memorabilia are foreign to Jewish tradition, it must be some kind of "gut" reaction, because of the special significance of those who have died. Is it possible that people in Israel feel the need to be reminded daily that their very existence depends on the sacarifices of those who have fallen, and express their gratitude by making heroes of all fallen soldiers. As one bereaved parent poignantly suggested, "half of myself is dead but the other half of me continues to live."

Thus, there seems to be a strong identification with the fallen soldier in Israel. While the purchase of a Sefer Torah in the name of the fallen is a Jewish tradition, the printing of a commemorative book is not. However, there is an analogy between the two conditions. In both instances, a book is used. The religious use the Sefer

Torah, while the non-religious Israeli also uses a book, but divested of any religious significance in the traditional ways. At the end of my interviews, I noted that the bereaved parents seems to have unburdened a load by telling the story of the death of their son, and even allowed themselves some pleasantries. Is it possible that the continuous reminder of the death of a dear one softens their tragedy?

V. CONCLUSIONS

A comparison of the effect of a loss of a son or husband in Vietnam and in Israel is certainly affected by the kind of wars in which these two countries were involved. In Israel, young and old have to fight and more children tend to become fatherless. This adds to the distress of the mothers who have to explain to very young children why their fathers are not returning. Practically all Israeli families interviewed cried during the interview, some with profusion. The greater recency of the war in Israel may account for this but it is also possible that Israelis are more prone to express their sorrow quite overtly. Expression of such sorrow was illustrated by verbatim quotations. One particular area which was affected was the sex life of the parents. This was not found to be so in the USA. In Israel, there was a greater denial of the death through magical acts, and thoughts which was not found in the U.S.A. Families tended to see a resemblance between their loved ones and soldiers walking in the street. A number of fathers refused to say Kaddish (mourning prayer) for their son. Some indicated that their son relives through the birth of another child to whom they gave the name of the deceased, this was understood as being symbolic. Some parents were an object belonging to the deceased.

Could this lack of acceptance of death be related to the general doubt of life after death experienced by the Israeli families? All of them had accepted the fact that the soldier had died for a good cause but on the other hand, there was a tendency to emphasize the pacifistic nature of the soldier. In spite of continuous wars since 1948, there was no expression of hatred towards the enemy.

The great depression and sorrow found among the Israeli families could be attributed to their very pessimistic outlook about the future

of Israel. All of the families believed that the Arabs would never ultimately accept the existence of Israel and that they would continue with their policy of hostility. The trend in Israel is to have more than the usual 2 or 3 children since it is felt that one of them might probably fall in a future battlefield. Having more children because of this fear does not reflect a favorable outlook on life.

The purpose of this paper has been to provide an on the scene view of an aspect of the war that has not been explored before. There is no question that there is a need to mitigate the acute suffering of the bereaved and to deal with long-term problems encountered by the surviving relatives--such as bringing up children without fathers. This paper has been a modest attempt to study the aftermath of wars as they affect single individuals who find themselves caught in a treadmill of ever alternating war and peace.

REFERENCES

1. Bowlby, J. Attachment and loss, Vol. 1 Attachment (1969), Vol. II. Separation Anxiety and Anger, New York:Basic Books.1973

2. Bryan, C.D., Friendly Fire,

3. Cain, A.C., Fast, L.,&Erickson, M.R. Children's disturbed reactions to the death of sibling. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 34,741-752,1964.

4. Eliot, T.D. The adjustive behavior of bereaved families: A new field of research. Social Forces, 8,543-549, 1930.

5. --- ------,A step toward the social psychology of bereavement. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,27,380-390, 1933.

6. ----------,The bereaved family. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 160, 184-190, 1932.

7. ----------,Of the shadow of death. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 229, 87-99, 1943.

8. ----------,War bereavement and their recovery. Marriage and Family Living,8, 1-6, 1946.

9. Evans Pritchard, E.D. Witchcraft, oracles and magic among the Azande, New York:Oxford University Press, 1937.

10. Feifel, H. (Ed.) The meaning of death. New York:McGraw Hill Book Co.,1959.

11. ----------,Death, in Taboo topics,Norman L. Farberow (Ed.) New York: Atherton Press, 8-21, 1963.

12. Frazer, J.G. The fear of the dead in primitive religion. London: McMillan, 1913-1924, 3 vol.

13. Freud, S. Mourning and melancholia. (1917) Collected Papers, New York:Basic Books 1959.

14. Fulton, R. Death and identity. New York:Wiley 1965.

15. Glick,I Weiss, R. S. Parkes The first year of bereavement, N. Y. John Wiley & Sons 1974.

16. Gorer, . The pornography of death, in Modern Writing, W. Phillips and P. Rahv (Eds.) New York:Berkely Press, 56-62, 1956.

17. ----------,Death grief and mourning, in Contemporary Britain, London:Cresset, 1965.

18. Kastenbaum, R. & Aisenberg, R. The psychology of death. New York: Springer, 1972.

19. Kidorf, L. W. Jewish tradition and the Freudian Theory of mourning. Journal of Religion and Health, 2. 248-255, 1963.

20. Kutcher, A.H. Death and bereavement. Springfield, Ill. C.G. Thomas, 1969.

21. ----------,For the bereaved. New York:F. Fell, 1971.

22. Langner, T.S. and Michael, S.T. Life and stress and mental health. Glencoe, Ill:The Free Press, 1963.

23. Lieberman, M. War and the family, Modern Medicine, 179-183, 1971

24. Lindeman, E. Symptomatology and management of actual grief. American Journal of Psychiatry. 101, 141-148, 1944.

25. Lopata, H. Z. Widowhood in an American City, Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1973.

26. Malinovski, B. Magic, Science and religion and other essays. Boston:Beacon Press, 1948.

27. Marris, P. Widows and their families, London:Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958.

28. Moriarty, D. (Ed.) The loss of loved ones:The effects of a death in the family of personality development. Springfield, Ill.:C.G. Thomas, 1967.

29. McCubbin, H.L., and al. Family separation and reunion:Families of prisoners of war and servicemen missing in action. Center for Prisoner of War Studies, Naval Health Research Center, San Diego, 1975.

30. Nelson, Kenneth L. (Ed.) The impact of war on American life: The 20th. Century experience. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1971.

31. Palgi, P. Socio-cultural expressions and implications of death, mourning and bereavement in Israel arising out of the war situation. Israel Annals of Psychiatry and Related Disciplines, II, 301-329, 1973.

32. Parkes, C.M. The effects of bereavement of physical and mental health:A study of the case records of widows:British Medical Journal, 274,vol.2, 1964.

33. ---------- & Brown, R. Health after bereavement:A controlled study of young Boston widows and widowers. Psychosomatic Medicine. 34, 1972.

34. ----------, Bereavement:Studies of grief in adult life. New York: International University Press, Inc., 1972

35. Parsons, T.,Death in American society:A brief working paper. American Behavioral Scientist, 6, 61-65, 1963.

36. Pearson, L., Death and dying:Current issues in the treatment of the dying person.Cleveland:The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1969

37. Rivers, B. Psychology and ethnology. London:Kegan Paul, 1926.

38. Rosenbaum, M. Emotional aspects of wartime separation. Family, 24, 337-341, 1944.

39. Siggins, L. D. Mourning:A critical survey of the literature. International Journal of Psychiatry, 3, 418-432, 1967.

40. Wright, Quincy A study of war, 2nd. Ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Victor D. Sanua, Ph.D.

Tentative Questionnaire

I. BASIC FAMILY HISTORY DATA

Family Name _____ Name of Deceased _____

Present Address _____ Date of Birth _____

_____ Contacted through _____

1. Service Affiliation: ___1. Air Force. ___2. Army. ___3. Marines. ___4. Navy.
2. Date of marriage, if deceased married _____ Present age of wife _____
4. Years of formal education completed by deceased _____ 5. Wife's _____
6. Type of work done by father of deceased _____
7. Work done by deceased prior to joining forces _____ None _____
8. Religious affiliation of KIA ? _____ 9. Religious affiliation of wife? _____
10. Type of present dwelling ? _____ 11. No. of years in residence? _____
12. Reasons for moving from previous dwellings _____

_____

13. Total number of siblings? _____ 14. Present age(s) _____
15. Sibling ranking of the KIA ? _____
(First, second, etc.)
16. Total number of children of deceased _____ 17. Present ages? _____
18. How many siblings are presently living in the home ? _____
19. Present marital status of wife of the KIA ? _____

./.

II. PRE-CASUALTY INFORMATION

1. Brief personality description of the KIA, his friends, hobbies, activities, etc. _____ _____(use blank paper _____

2. Career choices, if any, prior to entering the service _____

3. Type of service preferred by KIA? _____ 4. Was he in the service branch he wanted ? _____

5. Did he plan to make the military his career ? _____

6. Was his father in the military ? _____

7. Was there any pressure for him to join, or not join the service ? _____

8. Dates of his training _____ 9. Date when sent overseas _____

10. What were his reactions to training ? _____

11. Date when reported KIA or possibly MIA ? _____

12. How much information did he provide parents or wife about his thoughts, his fears, etc. before his departure overseas ? _____

13. Did he provide any information, or express concern indirectly that he might not return ? _____

14. Before actual departure overseas, did he call the family ? _____

15. What kind of letters did he send home ? _____
Any mention of army duties? Did he send pictures, tapes ? Did he request anything special ? _____

16. Was mail received without delay ? _____

17. How difficult was it for the family to cope with his absence ?

1. No difficulty, matter of routine.
2. Little difficulty, but nothing significantly difficult.
3. Some difficulty, trying at times, emotionally trying; a few incidents which were difficult to overcome.
4. Great difficulty, very trying at times, difficulty with emotional adjustment; numerous incidents which were difficult to overcome.

18. How did you feel about your son (husband) leaving for Southeast Asia on the last tour?

1. Accepted this as his duty.
2. Accepting with some reservations; questioned his leaving at this time BUT recognized that he had to leave.
3. Ambivalent; many reservations about his departure.
4. Protested his leaving: felt he did not have to go; resisted his leaving.

19. Did he make sure that everything was in order before departure overseas, e.g. regarding finances, allotments, etc. ? _____

II. Pre-Casualty Information (continued)

20. In evaluating the family situation prior to news of casualty, how would you assess the relationship of the serviceman , in terms of its strengths and weaknesses, with the following members of the family ? (Please check).

	Definite Weakness	Weakness	Strength	Definite Strength
Father	_____	_____	_____	_____
Mother	_____	_____	_____	_____
Siblings	_____	_____	_____	_____
Other relatives	_____	_____	_____	_____

21. Describe special problems in these relationships _____

_____

22. If serviceman was married, how would you describe his marriage ?

1. Had thought about a divorce/separation.
2. Had actually requested a divorce/separation.
3. Chronic conflicts/fights/emotional divorce.
4. Family difficulties, but not insurmountable
5. Satisfactory/ good relationship.
6. Very satisfactory/rewarding/emotional closeness.

23. Did any of the siblings or children of the serviceman express any unusual emotional reaction prior to his departure ?

24. Was any member of the family under psychological or psychiatric care prior to the departure of the serviceman?

./.

III. CASUALTY PERIOD

1. How long was serviceman in SEA prior to date of casualty? _____ months.
2. How old was he?
3. Do you know the name of the place where he was killed in action? _____
4. Did the family realize the full significance of the war ?
5. How did the family feel about the serviceman's chances of returning ?
6. Who informed the family of the death of the serviceman ?
7. What was the initial reaction of the members of the family when he was reported KIA ? _____
8. Please describe feelings, mood, attitudes, subsequent to the news. Describe in some detail the stages of mourning . _____

_____

9. Any history of psychosomatic symptoms developed when the news was received ? ____
10. Present state of health of parents, wife, compared to state of health prior to the event.
11. Frequency of visits to physicians before and after the event. _____
12. Each family has its own way of adjusting to the situation. What actions were taken which were helpful? Please describe, e.g. talking with other bereaved, going on a trip, working, reading, knitting, etc. _____

_____

13. Type of moral support received by the family from friends, relatives, neighbors. How satisfactory was this support ?
14. Does the family know where and how event occurred ? Does family feel they received full information? Did any of the service comrades who were on the battlefield visit the family and report on what happened? _____
15. Was there a feeling of unreality or possible denial that the event had happened ?
16. Did any member of the family die after the event, and if so, how ? _____
17. Provide some details about funeral arrangements. Participation of the casualty officer? Was there an escort assigned to the body ?
18. Was the casket open? What were the reactions of parents, siblings, when they saw the body? Were there any striking changes betweenthe way he looked in the casket and the time he left for Vietnam?
19. How far is the serviceman buried from his home town? Frequency of family visits to gravesite immediately after the burial, and at present.
20. Any delusions, hallucinations regarding the presence of the deceased ?

./.

BEST COPY

III. Casualty Period (continued)

21. What kind of dreams of dream developed subsequently ? Do the parents and wife continue to dream ?

22. Did any member of the family have a premonition the day the event occurred, or even prior to the event?

23. Was the assistance provided by the military officials satisfactory? Was there any follow-up?

24. Was the family involved in any ceremonies for awarding of citations or medals?

IV: COMMEMORATION OF THE DECEASED

1. Are there any momentos, letters, medals, pictures, on display ? _____
2. Where are they placed ? _____
3. Does the family keep letters, telegrams, belongings of the deceased ? _____
4. Was there an album especially prepared after the event ? _____
5. How often is the deceased mentioned in the family conversation? _____
6. How often is he mentioned with friends and relatives ? _____
7. Is there any felt need to speak about the deceased? _____
8. How does the family feel about the notion of life after death ? _____
9. Was the religiousity of the family affected by the death of the serviceman? _____

./.

BEST COPY

V. FOLLOW-UP

1. If you had any real problems, did you feel that you could call on any relatives or friends for help? ___1. Yes, definitely. ___2. No. ___3. Other.
2. Did mother or wife start working at a later period?
3. What kind of job was selected? Was it satisfactory? _____
4. Did you join any organization of bereaved (Gold Star Mothers, Gold Star Wives) etc.?
5. What use was made of the insurance money ? _____
6. Is your emotional health the same, better, or worse than it was one or two years ago?
7. Was there any need for tranquilizers, alcohol, tobacco, drugs, by any members of the family? _____
8. Was any member of the family incapacitated physically ? _____
9. Was any member of the family under psychological care following the event ? _____
10. Was there any long-term effect on the children, parents, wife, because of bereavement?
11. How often would you say you are able to get out and do the things you want to do?
12. Would you like to remarry in the future? (to be answered by widow).
13. If you remarry, what kind of person would you prefer? _____
14. What are your future plans for your children? _____
15. What would you say was the most important problem you as a family had to deal with this past year? Please describe. _____
16. If serviceman was married, was there any problems between in-laws and daughter-in-law?
17. Are the in-laws satisfied with the way their daughter-in-law is raising the children?
18. How would they feel about the remarriage of their daughter-in-law? _____
19. If the deceased had a girl friend, how did she react to his death, and what contacts has she maintained with the family ? _____
20. Did the death of the son affect the relationship between mother and father? _____
21. Is there anything else that you would like to add ? _____

BEST COPY BEST